

20c FEBRUARY 19, 1951

New Republic

CAN WE NEGOTIATE WITH STALIN?

AN EDITORIAL

TAKING THE LID OFF THE UNDERWORLD

By EDWIN A. LAHEY

TAXES: WHEN AND WHERE?

By LOUIS J. WALINSKY

HAROLD L. ICKES ON:

PURE WATER—IMPURE POLITICS

Coming February 26
A special 8-page section
TELEVISION and EDUCATION

On January 23 there was held in Washington, under the Chairmanship of Saul Carson, Radio-Television Editor of the *New Republic*, and in cooperation with the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, a panel discussion on television and education.

Because of the great and immediate importance of the subject and the prominence and standing of those taking part, a tape recording of the proceedings was made, as well as a stenotyped report. The tape recording will be edited and used for broadcasts over educational radio stations throughout the country. The stenotype minutes, edited by Saul Carson, will appear as a special eight-page section in the February 26 issue of the *New Republic*.

In radio, the Federal Communications Commission refused to reserve special frequencies for non-commercial educational broadcasters on the standard (AM) bands, but did set aside 20 percent of all frequency modulation (FM) channels for such purposes. Now, a drive is underway to reserve 25 percent of all television channels for non-commercial, educational broadcasters.

For a complete understanding of the problems involved and for an appraisal of the great issues at stake, read this special section.

Those taking part were:

SAUL CARSON, Chairman, Radio-Television Editor, the *New Republic*

FRIEDA B. HENNOCK, Member, Federal Communications Commission

THAD H. BROWN, JR., Counsel, Television Broadcasters Association

FRANKLIN DUNHAM, Chief of Radio, United States Office of Education

ROBERT HUDSON, Director, University Broadcasting; and Chairman, Radio Division in School of Journalism, University of Illinois

BURTON PAULU, Manager, University of Minnesota Radio Station KUOM, and Secretary of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters

GEORGE PROBST, Director of Radio, University of Chicago, and Professor of Social Science; Chairman of

the Advisory Committee to the National Association of Educational Broadcasters

SEYMOUR N. SIEGEL, President, National Association of Educational Broadcasters; Director of Radio Communications, New York City (WNYC-AM & FM)

CHARLES A. SIEPMANN, Professor of Education, and Chairman, Department of Communications, New York University

DALLAS W. SMYTHE, Director of Studies, National Association of Educational Broadcasters; Professor, University of Illinois

BRIG-GEN. TELFORD TAYLOR, Counsel, Joint Committee on Educational Television

I. KEITH TYLER, Professor of Education, and Director, Radio Education, Ohio State University; Chairman, Joint Committee on Educational Television

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CONTENTS FOR FEB. 19, 1951

- 5 Can We Negotiate with Stalin? An Editorial
- 6 The Week:
- 6 Bayonets on the Railroads
- 7 Smoot-Hawley Returns
- 7 Guilt By Relationship
- 7 Meat and Inflation
- 8 Outside America
- 9 Kefauver: Underworld Nemesis, by Edwin A. Lahey
- 11 Taxes: When and Where? by Louis J. Walinsky
- 14 Persecution by Assertion, by Harold J. Ruttenberg
- 16 Harold L. Ickes
- 17 Books:
- 17 Test Borings in the Britannica, by Paul Nemenyi
- 20 Classics and Commercials, reviewed by Arthur Mizener
- 21 The Pursuit of Plenty, reviewed by Ben B. Seligman
- 22 Theatre
- 23 On the Air

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THINGS ARE better in the foreign field, and what strikes us now in Washington is a sort of prayerful hopelessness in the domestic field.

Over in Korea the situation is a lot more encouraging. As everybody knows our object is not to gain territory but to chew up the enemy; it is not geographical but homicidal. One high official's estimate of the current casualty ratio is 18 of the enemy to one UN soldier, and this does not include losses from disease. It is a bloody business, and Chinese hospitals are crammed as far south as Canton. General Ridgway still assumes, however, that the Chinese will mount a major attack in spite of losses.

Things look brighter, too, in Congress on foreign affairs. The area of agreement on troops to Europe is actually much wider than the area of disagreement. Most of the fight left in the Senate is between the divided Republicans, with Democrats keeping silent on the sidelines. The public hearings this week before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will not change a vote. The hoop-la will be big, but every sign indicates that the Eisenhower-Truman-Dewey bi-partisan international policy has won the argument and that the Taft-Hoover-Wherry crowd is in the minority. Even the latter has moved a long way over toward European collaboration in the past six weeks.

But this better outlook on the foreign front doesn't cover the domestic struggle against inflation. We find it almost impossible to give you an impression of the sort of cheerful despair which reigns among top leaders. The favorite joke of the moment is that the difference between Washington today and during World War II is that "now the confusion is better organized." The austerity which the mobilization plans propose to thrust on labor, farmers, management and consumers will be almost unendurable. Every big lobby violently op-

poses every proposed sacrifice. What it boils down to is that not a control in sight will work without strong popular support. Just how deep and strong is the national will, anyway? That is the basic question today, and nobody really knows the answer. Can the equivalent of war sacrifices be achieved without a war?

The cards are all stacked against fast action in our stage-coach government.

For example, we are trying to check consumer purchases; so what do we do? As in duty bound, the executive calls for whopping taxes on autos, refrigerators, etc., thereby

serving notice on every frightened consumer of forthcoming higher prices. In fast-moving parliamentary governments the executive could make affirmative tax recommendations, and the levies would be slapped on the day after—not under the antiquated American division of powers. Congress won't act for months, although the cry of "Fire!" has already gone through the stampeding consumer audience. Similarly there is the self-evident need of curbing inflationary credit expansion at the banks. But to date this issue also is bogged down in creaking procedural disagreement.

The Truman Administration called in Eisenhower to carry the foreign-affairs ball in Congress; it called in an outside team of tough industrialists to carry the ball on domestic mobilization. Truman is justified in getting all the help he can, of course, and yet the force and vigor of these outsiders show up the weakness and ineptitude of his own Cabinet. At the moment gravel-voiced, ham-fisted, bristling, truculent defense mobilizer Charles E. Wilson is top dog. He is the strongest man in Washington today. Nobody can stand up to his self-assurance. In the business jungle he overrode opponents without diplomacy, and now he is making enemies fast and heedlessly in the corridor



warfare of Washington. Significantly, Truman delegated to Wilson the job of appealing to the striking railway men. Wilson and Eric Johnston, behind him, figure they are expendable anyway. They probably will not last more than 9 to 12 months and are prepared to get things started at all costs.

Does this mean the Fair Deal is dead? No. A nucleus remains in the 13 liberal Democratic Senators who are quietly holding meetings now at respective homes almost unnoticed by the press. This Young Guard is definitely a group to reckon with in Washington, comprising among others Douglas, Lehman, Humphrey, Murray, Magnuson and O'Mahoney. Its purpose is to protect its own interest as against the close-knit Southern Democratic leadership and to keep the Democratic Party "liberal" in the national election. It has affiliations in other groups and possesses influence far beyond its own membership.

On the political front Taft is more and more aligned with McCarthy. The cheers for the two were about equal at the recent GOP box supper. Two well-balanced "Dewey" Republicans, Ives of New York and Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, have been dumped from the Senate GOP Policy Committee, and McCarthy has been getting juicy committee plums. A "stop-Taft" Republican group is definitely forming around Eisenhower. Taft's recent foreign-policy speeches have been directed about as much against Eisenhower as Truman; his program appears to be to identify them together on foreign policy and then to offer himself to the 1952 GOP national convention as an unsullied independent, free from the Truman-Acheson smirch.

Notes: Eric Johnston will spread happy news for consumers soon: if they can only hold the austerity line for the next two years with top production, the nation should be able to drop most controls. . . . Charles E. Wilson favors the St. Lawrence Waterway. . . . McCarran's committee has made its first raid: it has impounded old files of the Institute of Pacific Relations (Lattimore group). . . . Given time Congress will vote grain for Indian famine. . . .
Washington

T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

The 22nd Amendment

SIR: I, too, believe that the Presidency should be left as it was planned in the Constitution, and that the people should continue to be trusted to know which President they want and how long they want him, as so ably advised in Harold L. Ickes' article, "The Twenty-second Amendment Lags," in your January 29 issue.

It might be mentioned that one of the major contentions of those who would limit the Presidency is that anyone permitted to remain in the White House longer than two terms would build an invincible machine and so perpetuate himself in office with patronage. While it is true that an incumbent can, by personal patronage, exercise powerful control over his party's nomination convention—the point at issue is still that of obtaining re-election instead of renomination.

The opponent of a third- or fourth-term candidate faces no greater patronage power than has been overcome in the past when, twice before FDR, one party has controlled the Presidency and its patronage for 16 years and still been defeated. We find then that the real threat involved in the perpetuity in office argument is *party* patronage and not *personal* patronage. But who would dare propose limiting the tenure of a party in the Presidency?

The campaign to constrict Presidential tenure is, as Mr. Ickes contends, a "bald and sinister attempt to stampede the people into curtailing their own precious political power." It is based more on plain prejudice than sound political philosophy.

The wise nation must utilize ability and exploit experience.

DANIEL FRANCIS CLANCY

Director, National Committee
against Limiting the
Presidency

Springfield, Ohio

El Popola Chinio

SIR: As a footnote to the excellent articles on Red China, it is noteworthy that Peking has its own Esperantist journal, *El Popola Chinio*, which it is sending to all of us who are listed among the 16 million people who asked the United Nations to further world understanding by the use of an auxiliary language. Of course, Russian influence may replace Esperanto by Russian eventually, but surely the international language is a better way.

A copy of the New China's Esperantist journal will be sent by me to anyone curious to see its contents. Address me at 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

MARK STARR

Educational Director, International
Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
New York City

He Likes Purcell

SIR: With the publication of Victor Purcell's brilliant letter (NR, February 5) your magazine shows signs of coming back to life again. The American people, too, are "grave and worried." How can we who agree with Purcell make our views known without being branded Communists?

Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio HARRY GILBERT

Are We Candid with Europe?

SIR: In the January 15 and again in the January 22 issue of the *New Republic*, T.R.B. most seriously deplores Senator Taft's revelation that we would bomb Europe's industrial potential to pieces rather than let it fall into the hands of the advancing Russian Army. "Talk like this," says T.R.B., "was Taft at his worst." I should say rather that comments like T.R.B.'s are T.R.B. at his worst.

Nowhere in T.R.B.'s criticism is there any suggestion that Taft is a prophet of delusion or that, in the event of war, his predictions would not come to pass. Only that his is a "tactless, brutal description." Now "tact" is often a nice synonym for deception and "brutal" an ugly word for describing the truth. Apparently it is in the above sense that T.R.B. employs his adjectives in qualitative evaluation of Taft's performance. It would seem that Taft's crime was that he told the truth at an inopportune moment. . . .

In view of the indiscriminating destruction of atomic bombs, one is moved to inquire of T.R.B. if it isn't treating our allies the least bit shabbily not even to suggest the fate that awaits their own existence as well as their factories. If they knew the lethal potion we have on brew and that we had generously reserved the first serving for them instead of Stalin's advancing legions, they might say "No, thank you," and move out; or at least burrow somewhat deeper into the universal wreckage our bombers left as a kindly memento of the last little unpleasantness.

But any suggestion of future holocausts would, we presume, be a violation of the niceties of the situation. Only a boor like Taft would blurt out the indelicate truth. . . .

Morristown College
Morristown, Tenn. RALPH D. MINARD



CAN WE NEGOTIATE WITH STALIN?

CAN ENEMIES negotiate? The question becomes urgent as the Communist regimes and the allies edge toward negotiations like hunters stalking each other.

One group among us condemns negotiation as appeasement; another praises it as the simple way out that makes unnecessary today's effort and sacrifice. Between these false extremes—if we can find it—lies the truth.

The truth may well be that agreement through negotiation is possible and profitable given three main ingredients: strength to deter aggression, mutual interest and a will to succeed.

Are these ingredients present today?

Strength in the free nations. The constant factor in Communist policy is to strike where we are weakest. Our military weakness invited military aggression. Given aggression, resistance rather than negotiation became the first step back to peace.

Now we are turning back aggression and building up military strength. If the Communists conclude that allied unity is firm and war now is unprofitable, they have a clear incentive to negotiate.

Areas of mutual interest. Now that the Chinese, like the Russians, have failed in Korea, we have a common interest in negotiating an agreement on an independent, democratic Korea, free of foreign troops. In terms of long-range objectives to which we are now free to return, we have an ultimate interest in negotiating an agreement on Formosa and on Chinese-Communist representation in the UN.

Beyond this there are limits to mutual interest in Asia. There is no mutual interest in Southeast Asia. There is none in the real prize of the Pacific—Japan.

Once we wanted Japan to trade with China in order to ease our economic burden. We looked on trade as the basis of mutual interest to be expressed in a Japanese peace treaty. Now economic considerations are subordinate to strategic factors. It is not in our interest that China's huge armies should be equipped by imports from Japan.

We want a non-punitive, non-restrictive peace treaty that ensures a democratic Japan, able to align itself

with the free world. Russia and China must work for a punitive and restrictive treaty or else bid openly for a Communist Japan, aligned to the Communist world. Negotiations, in other words, can stop the war in Korea. But they offer no easy road to peace in Asia.

In Europe, Germany is still the heart of the cold war. We and the Russians hold a common fear of German militarism. That fear was written into the Potsdam Agreement. Today the Russians argue that the violation of Potsdam by the allies is the real threat and that a return to Potsdam is the way to peace.

That is obviously absurd. The Potsdam Agreement foresaw a united Germany as part of a united world. It conceived of Germany as Communistic and democratic—stable, and yet governed by a four-power control body upon which the Russians, like all members, held the right of veto.

That concept soon collapsed. Germany was divided into a Communist dictatorship subject to Russia and a nation with democratic institutions in Western Germany. In Germany as in Japan, negotiation on four-power control is being steadily foreclosed by the increased sovereignty granted to Western Germany, and negotiation on neutrality is being foreclosed by the steady incorporation of Western Germany in the free world.

The Germans alone would rule out a return to Potsdam. Knowing this the East German Government has made new proposals based on a unified democratic Germany, free of all occupation troops.

This offer seems useful to Russia only as propaganda. For a unified, independent Germany, given free elections, would adopt democratic institutions and choose a non-Communist government. It would dismantle the Eastern zone dictatorship with its Soviet-trained police force and its Soviet-owned industrial and trade monopolies. It would press for the return of the provinces given to Poland. If it were wholly disarmed, it would gravitate toward Russia as the stronger military power. But if the North Atlantic community survived the loss of Germany, its continued growth would pull Germany toward its side.

For these reasons it seems doubtful that a unified

neutral Germany is in Russia's interest. Nor is it in our interest, given today's tensions. The Germans will never play a passive role in world politics. For them neutrality in a divided world would offer an irresistible temptation to deepen the world's divisions in order to regain their own power.

There is no mutual interest in negotiations on Germany alone. For the free world, the threat is not Eastern Germany's armed force but Russia's military power. For Russia, German rearmament is simply the most convenient anvil on which to strike hammer blows on the whole defense effort of the West.

That is why the West is united in seeking a broad agenda for negotiations. So far our offer has been ignored. But the last Soviet note, in stating that the rearmament of the West threatens peace, implicitly recognizes that discussions cannot be limited to Germany alone.

The armed forces of the great powers are the weapons that permit world war. A limitation of arms by the great powers is the objective. The challenge that could give a new basis for peace would be a challenge to settle today's conflict by means other than war. No early

agreement can be reached on that central issue. But meanwhile, we may stumble into war through accident or miscalculation or unforeseen provocation. For that reason *agreement is not the only purpose of negotiation*. Discussions which do no more than add to understanding of positions and intentions and fears may prolong world peace.

The will to agree. The open forums and majority votes of the UN lead to speeches rather than frank discussions and to vote-getting formulas rather than formulas of compromise. The UN itself is strengthened by continuous discussion among the great powers whether or not it leads to agreement.

Most of the world is ready for discussions. We are approaching the bitter contest of 1952. Senator Taft has ruled that foreign policy is the issue. If world agreement is made a weapon in internal politics, we may, like Tantalus, be forbidden by blind opposition from grasping life-giving prizes almost within our reach. Only a shift in public opinion can make that kind of opposition unprofitable. Trusting in the good sense of Americans, we see that shift coming.

THE WEEK

BAYONETS ON THE RAILROADS

The President's action in ending the recent railway walkout by Army fiat solves nothing except the immediate operation of the railroads. Nothing has been settled that was required to be settled. And the extent to which Truman has injected military government into the civilian economy to solve an emergency, largely of his own making, creates a new cause for concern.

When the switchmen and yardworkers of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen did not go back to work after a few days of "sickness," action was demanded. The economy could not stand the injury that was resulting. But the men could have been persuaded to return to work without the use of Army bayonets. The trainmen would have gone back to their jobs on a mere statement by the President that a special mediator responsible directly to him was being named with full powers to affect a settlement which would be retroactive. Instead, the Pres-

ident chose to get the trains running again by telling the workers that their union leaders acted like Russians and threatening the railroad men themselves with loss of their cherished seniority rights unless they reported back for duty immediately.

To soften the blow of possible firings, the Army gave the railroad men a small wage increase on account, without bothering to ask clearance from the Wage Stabilization Board. To strengthen the legal color of its drastic moves, the Army also announced that "if the disputing parties fail within a reasonable time to compose and settle their differences," it will recommend that the President ask Congress for legislation "appropriate to assure the resumption and continuance of normal rail service and the settlement of the dispute between the parties." Presumably that legislation would order compulsory arbitration in national emergencies or provide for the loss of certain rights as a penalty for strikes during emergencies.

The authorization of sanctions against workers, unaccompanied by any better machinery for solving labor disputes on their merits, is obviously not the way to peaceful labor relations. Compulsory arbitration, to be fair to both parties, would require complicated safeguards relating to profits and wages during the lengthy process of agreement. Perhaps consideration should be given to revising the emergency procedures provided under the Taft-Hartley Act, and perhaps railway labor, now outside the jurisdiction of that act, should be included in those procedures. But, in that case, labor experts, not the Army, should author new legislation.

By resorting to bayonet threats and again refusing to assume personal responsibility for negotiating a rail settlement, the President has failed to resolve the issue on the railroads. If he turns to the Army as the drafter of future labor policy, he will fail even more completely in achieving labor-management stability.

SMOOT-HAWLEY RETURNS

Local pressure groups rode roughshod over crucial national policy when 42 Democrats from all sections of the country joined Republicans last week in tacking the tariff-boosting "peril-point" amendment to the Reciprocal Trade Act. The 225-to-168 roll-call vote on the amendment was the second smashing defeat to liberal principles in the new Congress, the only other major vote having been on the reactionary rules change. It displayed a flagging Democratic discipline, which allowed the number of deserters on this issue almost to triple the 16 Democrats who voted for "protection" in 1948.

Led by high-tariff advocate Daniel Reed (N. Y.), the Republicans rallied almost unanimously to give the Tariff Commission power to boost import duties to the level at which they would no longer be a "peril" to the minor, inefficient industries that provide the small but vocal core of protectionist clamor today. Representatives James Fulton (Pa.), Jacob Javits (N. Y.), Clifford Case (N. J.) and John Hesselton (Mass.) were the only GOP members to vote against the return to Smoot-Hawley practice.

Of the Democrats who supplied the needed margin for the Republican attack, 23 were Southerners who are usually staunch supporters of Administration foreign policy. This time they succumbed easily to the pressure of Florida fishing and Texas oil interests, as well as to the growing power of "infant industries" in Georgia and South Carolina. In addition, the West Virginia glass and pottery industries brought most of that state's delegation into line, while shoe and textile pressure overwhelmed the principles of New England Democrats like Harold Donohue (Mass.), Thomas Lane (Mass.) and John Fogarty (R. I.). James Donovan (N. Y.), who defeated Vito Marcantonio last year on New York's East Side, was the only big-city Democrat to vote the protectionist ticket.

The burden of saving the country's leadership of the free world's economy from the selfish sabotage of petty interests now rests on the Senate, where the

Republicans have an even greater preponderance of power. It may be possible that Senators, who are elected statewide and for longer intervals, can be persuaded to put national interest over local pressure.

GUILT BY RELATIONSHIP

Last week the Air Force had the embarrassing task of apologizing to Captain Charles A. Hill Jr., for having accused him of "disloyalty." Captain Hill, a Detroit Negro automobile worker and law student who won the Air Medal three times as a fighter pilot in World War II, had been asked to resign his commission in the Air Force Reserve because he allegedly was seen reading the *Daily Worker* and because his sister and father, a prominent Negro minister, were identified with alleged Communist groups in an election campaign. When Secretary of the Air Force Thomas K. Finletter halted the disloyalty proceedings, he praised Hill's outstanding war record and expressed regret that charges had been lodged.

The Air Force bill of particulars failed to cite a single act or utterance by Hill himself which would furnish grounds for a suspicion of disloyalty. In his reply, refusing voluntarily to resign his commission and demanding an impartial hearing, Hill wrote: "Although I have never read the *Daily Worker*, you have now aroused my curiosity to the extent that, when I get time, I intend to read the paper or magazine just to see what is so damnable about it. My country stands for freedom of thought and inquiry. It stands for freedom of the press, which, in my view, includes the right to read as well as the right to publish. And it includes the right to read the papers and books with which I disagree as well as those I approve."

Regarded legally, the extent to which Hill, the father, may or may not be associated with the Communist Party is totally irrelevant to the issue of the son's loyalty. "What would you have me do?" the younger Hill replied. "Give my father a loyalty test and if he failed to conform to Army standards of loyalty—to disown him?"

MEAT AND INFLATION

The price and production controls which Price Stabilizer Michael Di Salle slapped on the meat industry last week aim at curbing inflation in the most crucial area of consumer production. Although meat constitutes only six percent of the consumer price index, it is the farm product furthest beyond the parity level at present, and its long-time upward price trend makes it psychologically the most dangerous trigger to another round of union wage demands. These could shoot effective controls sky-high by destroying price stability which planners hope to realize by summer.

With cattle production reaching new records, the crux of the meat problem lies in greatly increased demand rather than in a production shortage. Last year, Americans ate 20 percent more meat per person than during the 1930s. With still more money available, many will be willing to pay even higher prices this year unless rigid curbs enable the government to keep the situation in hand, all along the line.

Slaughter controls for the country's 4,000 meat packers are to be the basis for the meat stabilization program. The prompt imposition of controls to "freeze" the slaughterer's killing of cattle contrasts favorably with practice in World War II, when such rules were not imposed until September, 1942. However, government enforcement officials still face the problem of how to keep tabs on the 3,500 small and medium-sized packers who sell only intrastate and are not visited by the Federal Meat Inspection Service agents.

The President must make use of his broad Defense Production Act powers to extend federal inspection to these plants, and possibly to force them under full government supervision if widespread violations occur. Only by such energetic action can a measure of price stability be achieved. If over-prosperous consumers insist on bidding up choice beef parts, a selective excise tax on meats may be the best way to protect the closely-budgeted wife of the white-collar worker or the fixed-wage factory hand from finding *all* the butcher's wares beyond her means.

OUTSIDE AMERICA

"SIMPLY MURDERERS"

Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, the British High Commissioner in Germany, said at a press conference in Kiel that "many" of the 238 German war criminals in the Werl Prison "were simply murderers." Some were rather less simply murderers. For example, Sir Ivone mentioned the inmate of Werl who had stripped men and women, made them wait naked at the edge of a communal grave, and then had them shot.

"Sir Ivone thought," according to the *Manchester Guardian* version of the press conference, "that in cases like these the normal protection of society has to be considered, but even so, he was reconsidering the 'relatively mild' sentence of 10 years passed on this man." Moreover, Sir Ivone said, "There is no man in prison in Germany for war crimes whose sentence I will not be willing to reconsider in view of the changed circumstances."

The British High Commissioner has had some direct personal experience with the changing of circumstances. He was an important member of the diplomatic staff of Sir Neville Henderson, the British Ambassador to Berlin, who wrote a book called *The Failure of a Mission*. That mission was, of course, the effort to appease Adolf Hitler and other Germans who were simply (and also not so simply) murderers. But Sir Ivone, concerned now to make his own mission a success, has only slightly changed his ideas about appeasement. In a speech at Hamburg he said "all Europeans" have the task of defending "the traditions they had inherited." Presumably, the men already released, or soon to be released, from Werl are included, but all Russians are excluded. And quite plainly the heir of Henderson believes that the need for "the normal protection of society" against men in

the tradition of the Katyn massacre is so urgent that it must be carried out with the men defending the tradition of Dachau, Belsen and Buchenwald.

Sir Ivone's past makes it easy for Europeans who are the heirs of the "resistance" to understand his concluding remark at Hamburg: "If there are faint hearts in Europe, let them reflect that in this affair, duty and self-interest coincide." But the confusion of the moral with the practical, in which some Americans who never were appeasers are now indulging, is harder to understand.

There are many stout-hearted Europeans who cannot share General Eisenhower's statement to the Germans that he is willing to let bygones be bygones. The British, who are the general's warmest supporters, were shocked by his statement in Germany that the neutralization of Germany was impossible under present circumstances. Only a few days before, in London, he had said that the problem of German rearmament was in the hands of the political experts, and that a soldier should not interfere until they had made their decisions. The British cannot understand how the leader of a moral crusade can welcome to his ranks the condoners, if not the committers, of murder.

Nor can the heirs of the "resistance" all over Europe quite go along with President Truman's belief that Hitler and Mussolini were not any worse than Charles I of England or Louis XIV of France—or in his omission of Hitler's friend Franco from the list of dictators. Stalin may be as bad as Hitler, perhaps even worse; but it does not get support for Truman's claim to leadership of "the world's moral forces" to do retrospective revisions of morality, or to rewrite history for Europeans who, in their lowly and costly way, have learned more about dictatorship from personal experience than the President of the United States.

Eisenhower is universally admired and respected by anti-Communist Europeans, but it does not help the success of his mission of morale-building to make statements that hurt the chance—small as it is, to begin with—of success for a Four-Power Conference on Germany. The Europeans are not—despite Com-

munist propaganda—afraid of Eisenhower; they are, however, afraid of the effect of the encouragement he gives the Germans. There is, however, plenty of doubt whether the rearmament of Germany, moral or not, is necessarily a matter of self-interest to all Europeans.

Edward Crankshaw, one of Britain's outstanding experts on Russian affairs, writes in the conservative *Observer*:

What information can be gleaned from Russian sources suggests very clearly that while the Kremlin does not seriously believe in the alleged American threat, it does most strongly believe that once the West Germans get an army, which will draw largely on the embittered mass of refugees and those expelled from the East, Washington and London, with the best will in the world, will not be able to control that army.

The problem of Washington's conception of the relation of the moral and the practical also comes up in connection with the Far East. Perhaps not many Englishmen go along with Lord Stansgate in the belief that sanctions against Mao Tse-tung would be "crazy." But a great majority question whether they would be practical. The English accept the "moral" condemnation of Mao but, as the *Observer* points out, "There is a widespread public mood of anxious questioning. The dominant fear is that Britain may be drawn into dangerous politics which the government itself is thought to view with a divided mind." The *Times* wants further action to "be guided first and foremost by the hard facts of geography and strategy, by the consideration whether any measures—such as diplomatic or economic sanctions—could be effective in deterring China."

Perhaps the British are not entirely right in their appraisals of the practical needs both in Europe and in Asia. But as experienced a judge of Washington's appraisals as Anne O'Hare McCormick says that "the best official estimates on Russia's intentions, calculations, timetable and state of preparedness are not much better than the conjectures of the man in the street." Hence, it might be well for Washington to take the British views into some consideration.

Paris

PERCY WINNER

KEFAUVER: UNDERWORLD NEMESIS

IN VIRTUALLY every metropolitan area in this country there is a select group of beady-eyed characters, numbering perhaps from a half to two dozen, who neither toil nor spin, who were born poor, but who regularly report annual incomes of \$50,000 to \$100,000 from "self-speculation," from "wagering" and from "sundry sources."

Repeat, *report* annual incomes. There is no doubt in the mind of anyone connected with Sen. Estes Kefauver's Crime Investigating Committee that these citizens who make up the elite of the underworld in each of our big towns have learned over the years how to rob the Internal Revenue Bureau blind. The racketeers simply "take it off the top" before Uncle Sam gets a count of their illicit earnings.

When a gambling joint closes shop, say at 4 a.m., the manager just sticks a peck of loose money in his pocket. The accountant then takes official note of what's left and makes a meticulous record of this for the tax collector. In a few nights the manager's "take from the top" amounts to a bushel. Some of this money goes to law officials, who can safely avoid reporting it on their tax returns since no record of the money exists. The rest goes as extra dividends to the gambling-house partners.

In any given city, the racketeers do not look like a formidable group. But put them all together, as Senator Kefauver and his staff have been doing for eight months, and our underworld begins to look pretty impressive. There is apparently no rigid organizational structure in gangland, but there is without question a freemasonry that makes for a close federation.

As a social phenomenon, these hoodlums become interesting as their collective influence reaches out beyond their primary activities into the fields of politics and business. Their corrosive influence in both is very plain.

The invasion of legitimate business by the gangster is a perfectly natural development in the process that has seen him emerge from the slime of the brothel in his youth, through the bootlegging era, the labor-racketeering period of the post-prohibition years and the recent organized gambling phase. Hoodlum society, like capitalistic society, has the constant problem of investment of surplus funds; and the solution of this problem has put gangsters firmly in business. In another generation some hoodlums will have a family crest.

The liquor industry, as might be expected, is infested with citizens from the underworld. In Kansas City, the

by **Edwin A. Lahey**

Kefauver committee found that two branches of an infamous clan of black-hand killers and extortionists had the exclusive distributing franchises for two of the biggest distillers in the industry. In Chicago, a former braumeister for the Capone mob controls the distribution of some of the most popular brands of whisky through exclusive contracts with the distillers. The distilling industry, which strives for respectability as much as any of its hoodlum distributors, has been unhappy about the publicity from the Kefauver committee. In fairness, it should perhaps be noted that distillers have not always had their own choice of wholesale distributors but, in some instances, have had to select from a list of unsavory citizens licensed by the state.

The Kefauver committee has gathered evidence, which may be put in the record in the coming week, that one eminent Cleveland racketeer has enough influence in a small steel company to determine how it shall dispose of its production. He won this influence by financing a company official in his fight for control with another company official.

An aggressive group of stockholders in a Washington, D. C., transportation company last year barely lost its fight to unseat the management. The Kefauver committee is convinced, but has not yet found proof, that this stockholders' group was backed by hoodlum money.

A number of hotels in Miami Beach have been generally identified as "mob hotels," not through official documentation, which is well covered up, but by the concentration in these hotels of hoodlums from Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia and New York, and the close ties of the management, in each instance, with leading racketeers.

The service industries, laundries, vending-machine companies and the like, are peppered with hoodlum management in nearly every large city today. In Chicago, a cigarette vending-machine company owned by the Cook County slot-machine boss, Eddie Vogel, has done a business of more than \$7 million in the last nine years.

If the Kefauver committee has done nothing else, it has raised the question, why do we have sheriffs?

They are a pretty crummy and useless lot, the sheriffs we have seen on tour with the Kefauver road show. They are red-necked and stained with tobacco juice like musical-comedy sheriffs, but there the resemblance ends. There is nothing comical about the money-hungry look on their faces, about the cynicism they have spread among

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police officers by their successful larceny. Even the gamblers have a vast contempt for the sheriffs with whom they do business. In Tampa, a bookkeeper for some Cuban numbers racketeers told of a weekly payoff that was noted in his accounts as "Cabesa de Melon." When asked what this notation meant, he explained that this was money for "Melon-head," the sheriff.

In Dade County, Florida, there was a sheriff who kept money hidden in his bedroom and increased his net worth tremendously in a few years while gamblers tilled the soil of his jurisdiction.

In Broward County, just north of Dade, there was the lard-head who looked capable of breaking the skull of any Negro field worker who might demand a wage increase, but he had an interest in a company which operated the numbers racket whereby these Negroes are fleeced.

In Louisiana, which was put on a slot-machine economy by Frank Costello and "Dandy Phil" Kastel years ago with the aid of the Long machine, we found some prizes among the sheriffs. Sheriff Frank Clancy of Jefferson Parish wrapped the constitution around him and refused to testify on the ground that he might tend to incriminate himself. (This week Sheriff Clancy underwent a change of heart and volunteered to appear before the committee in Washington.) Sheriff Celestin Rowley of St. Bernard Parish protested plaintively when the committee asked him how much was in his bedroom strongbox. "Lookahere," the sheriff whined, "you're jest invitin' burglars." Sheriff Gilbert Ozene of Iberia Parish said with wide-eyed innocence that he didn't know prostitution was against the law. "Been going on a mighty long time over in New Iberia, and always segregated, nice-like."

There's still a job of reporting to be done in Louisiana to analyze the extraordinary good fortune that the gambling racketeers have had in their litigation, all the way up to the state Supreme Court. A group of citizens in Jefferson Parish in 1947 joined in a suit to abate the gambling nuisances by injunction and padlock proceedings. Their attorney, James I. McCain of New Orleans, had some difficulty getting his injunction proceedings on the calendar in Jefferson Parish. While the case was pending in the Circuit Court, he was twice approached by representatives of the gamblers and offered lump sums to sabotage the citizens' lawsuit through contrived delays. McCain persisted, but his suit was finally thrown out of court by Circuit Judge Leo W. McCune, who held with the attorneys for the racketeers that the 1920 Louisiana padlock law, as amended, was unconstitutional.

McCain went to the state Supreme Court, and in November, 1948, this body reversed Judge McCune, holding the padlock law constitutional and ordering the lower

court to try the injunction suit of the Jefferson Parish citizens on its merits. Nothing daunted, Circuit Judge McCune reversed the Supreme Court. The law was still unconstitutional, he held. Attorney McCain had to go back to the Supreme Court to ask the justices to enforce their mandate. But in June, 1950, this august assemblage, by a vote of four to three, reversed its previous decision, which had been unanimous, and held with Judge McCune that the padlock law was unconstitutional.

Kefauver will complete the public hearings of his committee in February and probably meet the March 31 deadline for his final report to the Senate. Citizens more concerned with war and inflation than with crime conditions will be asking the questions they have been asking about this committee since it began work last May. What is Kefauver's motive? What is he trying to prove? What good is he doing?

The answer to the first question is easy. Kefauver has apparently had no motive except to put a record of the activities of organized criminals in interstate commerce before the United States Senate, with some recommendations for legislation to curb these activities. If he has had any political hopes tied up with this work, as cynical observers assert, he has not acted to fulfill them. He has infuriated leaders of his own Democratic Party all over the country.

Kefauver and his brilliant chief counsel, Rudolph Halley, have proved a lot in answer to the second question. For one thing, they have made it clear that the racing-wire business is infiltrated with underworld characters and operates as a virtual monopoly in the communication of horse-track information to the handbooks of the nation. The committee's information in this field may be enough to persuade Congress to legislate the race-wire industry out of business.

What good the Kefauver committee does is perhaps debatable, since so many callous souls insist that sin is here to stay. But in every town where this committee has held hearings, there has been a shock treatment for the public conscience, which if it has no permanent good effect on local conditions, at least has some purgative value to a racketeer-ridden community. A number of citizens' crime commissions have sprung up in the wake of the committee to harass organized criminals and the politicians who permit their operations.

Finally, the Kefauver committee has paid for itself many times over in the amount of tax recoveries made available to the Internal Revenue Bureau through its hearings. Its agents have found enough instances of tax avoidance by racketeers and crooked politicians fully to justify the committee's extraordinary power to examine income-tax returns at least to the tax collectors.

TAXES: WHEN AND WHERE?

THREE BASIC questions arise out of President Truman's budget and tax messages: How much additional tax revenue do we need? When do we need it? How should it be raised?

by Louis J. Walinsky

How much additional revenue do we need? The arguments for pay-as-you-go financing have been made so frequently and so effectively that no repetition is required here.

In his budget message, the President estimated that tax laws now in effect will raise about \$55 billion in fiscal year 1952. Expenditures for fiscal year 1952 are estimated at \$71.6 billion. The indicated deficit is thus \$16.5 billion, which must be raised in new taxes if we are to pay as we go.

Estimates of such magnitude obviously cannot be exact. Some of the expenditures proposed, such as those for the military services, may have to be increased. We may get more or less revenue from existing taxes than has been estimated. Nevertheless, it is clear that the prospective deficit of \$16.5 billion forecast in the budget message does indicate fairly the magnitude of the tax problem. No doubt some of the proposed expenditures can be pruned. The problem here is that Congress may seek to slash foreign aid and the relatively small expenditures proposed for "fair-deal" measures (defense housing, \$100 million; aid to elementary and secondary education, \$290 million; aid to medical education, \$25 million, etc.) rather than search out unnecessary expenditures. We can also try to increase our revenues by improving the enforcement of existing tax laws. Even if we can reduce the prospective deficit by cutting expenditures and increasing revenues from existing laws, it would still be desirable to raise the maximum revenues possible by additional taxes. Inflationary pressures will be strong, even with a balanced budget. A surplus of government income over expenditure would be preferable to a balanced budget, if such a goal could be achieved.

Can we carry such a load? In 1944 and 1945, at the peak of the last war and with a much smaller national income (about \$183 billion), we collected close to \$44 billion in taxes. The federal-tax "take" was about 24 percent of our total national income. With state and local taxes, the "take" was about 28 percent of our na-

tional income. The \$55 billion which existing taxes will raise in fiscal year 1952 would be less than 20 percent of a much larger prospective national income of perhaps \$280 billion. With state and local taxes of \$19 or \$20 billion, the "take" would be less than 27 percent of our national income. If we raise federal taxes to \$71.5 billion as President Truman now proposes, the federal "take" would be about 25 percent of our national income, and with state and local taxes, less than 33 percent of our national income. We may thus compare a total federal-, state- and local-tax "take" of some 28 percent of a much smaller national income in 1944-45 with a moderately larger total-tax "take" of less than 33 percent in fiscal year 1952 applied against a much larger national income. There is no question about our ability to carry this load, provided that it is fairly distributed.

When do we need the additional revenue? Since the prospective deficit applies to the fiscal year beginning July 1, the temptation is to think we do not need to start bringing the additional revenue in until that time. This is not the case. As the President pointed out in his tax message, "military production results in wage payments, and buying of materials, long before the goods are produced and paid for by the government." Since tax policy must be concerned not only with balancing the federal budget but with combatting inflation as well, the sooner higher taxes go into effect and reduce the inflationary pressures which defense production is creating in the economy, the better off we shall be.

The President has recommended that we act now to provide for an additional \$10 billion a year in taxes. Action on the rest, he suggests, may be left until later on, for the following reasons: We shall gain time in which to observe economic developments and consider the problems involved; we shall know better exactly how much we need; and Congress will have had time to consider the budget. While this reasoning is persuasive, the President may also have been motivated by the belief that Congress might act more speedily on the \$10 billion request than on a total program for \$16.5 billion.

If this motivation was indeed a factor in the \$10 billion request, it appears to have been a miscalculation. The initial reactions indicate that Congress will not act promptly and that it may insist in any case on a "one-package" tax bill. Moreover, there is some danger that in seeking ways and means to raise an additional \$10 billion of revenue, our approach to the *whole* problem

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may become distorted, with the result that we may wind up, in the end, with an inequitable distribution of the additional tax load. This possibility may appear more clearly if we turn now to a consideration of the third basic question.

How shall the additional revenue be raised? The President has recommended that the \$10 billion on which action is desired now should be raised in the following way: \$4 billion from increases in personal income taxes; \$3 billion from increases in corporate income taxes; and \$3 billion from increases in selective excise taxes which will concentrate on "less essential consumer goods and upon goods which use materials that will be in short supply." While he recommends in addition that "Congress carry further the program it started last year to close loopholes in the present tax laws," he also states that "the revenue to be gained by closing these loopholes is not large in comparison with our needs."

In broad, and assuming an initial goal of only \$10 billion, these recommendations certainly seem to be all right. We should have no considerable difficulty in raising \$3 billion more from corporations, \$4 billion more from individuals and \$3 billion more in selective excise taxes. When we examine these proposals more closely, however, a number of questions arise—some perplexing, others perturbing.

Is an additional \$3 billion all we can get from the corporations which are earning the largest profits in their history? In raising an additional \$4 billion in personal income taxes, which will require higher taxes on people with moderate incomes as well as on people in higher income groups, will it really be necessary, as the President says, to impose higher taxes even on the wage earner with a wife and two children who earns only \$60 a week? Is it fair and necessary to impose a flat increase of 4 percent on all taxable income, irrespective of the size of the income, as the Treasury recommends? Do measures so harsh mean that we have virtually exhausted the revenue-raising potential of existing taxes, and will it be proposed that we turn next to a general sales tax to raise the next \$6.5 billion? To answer these questions, let's look at the facts.

America's corporations are earning today the largest profits in their history. How much more can they be made to pay? In 1950, corporation profits before taxes were about \$40 billion; their tax liabilities were about \$18 billion; their profits after taxes were about \$22 billion—\$1 billion larger than the previous historic high reached in 1948. In the fourth quarter of 1950, at an annual rate, corporate profits before taxes were \$48 billion; tax liabilities, \$23.5 billion; profits after taxes,

\$24.5 billion. This would seem to indicate that corporate taxes could be raised much more than the \$3 billion recommended by the President. The indication, however, is somewhat misleading. Of the annual rate of profit in the fourth quarter, fully \$7.5 billion was not operating profit at all, but a paper profit earned on rising prices which caused the corporations' inventory holdings to rise in value. Without this inventory profit, the annual rate of profits in the fourth quarter after taxes was not \$24.5 billion, but \$17.5 billion. With price controls in effect, we should not presume that corporations will continue to earn huge inventory profits. The President's proposal would require a rise of about 8 percent in the basic corporate tax rate, from 47 percent to 55 percent, exclusive of the additional 30 percent on excess profits. The President has done well to suggest a rise of \$3 billion in corporate taxes at this time, with the proviso that the situation be reviewed again in a few months. If, in the interim, rising prices have again swollen corporate profits, it may be practicable to increase corporate taxes still further. For the time being, \$3 billion is as far as we should go.

What, then, of the middle and upper income groups? How much more should they be made to pay? The only way to answer that question is to examine the basic figures showing the number of taxable incomes in each income group, the total income of each group, the total of taxes being paid by each group, the average individual taxes within each group and the current effective tax rates on each group. These, based on Treasury estimates for 1951 at current tax rates, are set forth in the tabulation below.

Income Group (Thousands of dollars)	Number of Taxable Returns (Thousands)	Total Income Within Group (Millions of dollars)	Estimated Tax Re- ceipts from Group (Millions of dollars)	Average Tax within Group (in dollars)	Current Average Ef- fective Tax Rate on Group (in percent)
Under 1	1,972	1,607	50	25	3.1
1 to 2	6,609	10,333	806	122	7.8
2 to 3	10,329	26,064	2,019	195	7.7
3 to 4	9,397	32,716	2,657	283	8.1
4 to 5	6,217	27,638	2,575	414	9.3
Under 5	34,523	98,358	8,106	235	8.2
5 to 10	5,516	36,113	4,333	786	12.0
10 to 25	1,353	19,687	3,572	2,640	18.1
25 to 50	233	7,780	2,176	9,339	28.0
50 to 100	69	4,649	1,836	26,609	39.5
100 to 250	19	2,756	1,386	72,947	50.3
250 to 500	2	814	467	233,500	57.4
500 to 1,000	.6	428	254	423,333	59.3
1,000 and more	.2	391	253	1,265,000	64.7
5 and more	7,193	72,618	14,277	1,985	19.7
TOTAL	41,716	170,975	22,382	537	13.1

Even a cursory examination of these figures is sufficient to establish the following:

First. The additional revenues which may be derived from persons in the upper income brackets—say, over \$50,000 a year—are strictly curtailed by the limited amount of total income received by such persons (about \$9 billion); and by the \$4.2 billion in taxes they will have to pay under existing law at effective tax rates ranging from 40 to 65 percent.

Second. A very large part of the total taxable personal income is concentrated in the lower and middle income brackets. Out of a total of some \$171 billion, about \$38 billion falls below the \$3,000 mark; over \$98 billion falls below the \$5,000 mark; about \$134 billion falls below the \$10,000 mark; and about \$154 billion falls below the \$25,000 mark.

Third. While tax rates and revenues on larger incomes can be increased, any really substantial increases in revenues will have to draw also from moderate and even lower-middle income groups.

Fourth. Tax rates presently in effect already bear quite heavily on persons in the lower income groups. The current *average* effective rates range from 3.1 percent to 9.3 percent for the income groups below \$5,000 per year. Actual rates may be much higher, depending on the size of the family group, as is indicated below:

Net Income Before Exemption	Current Effective Rates For:		
	Single 0 Dependents	Married No Dependents	Married 2 Dependents
\$ 800	5	—	—
1,000	8	—	—
1,500	12	4	—
2,000	14	8	—
3,000	16.3	12	4
5,000	18.9	15.2	10.4

In view of the existing distribution of the tax load, it must be questioned whether a flat increase of 4 percent is the way to raise the \$4 billion desired. This would involve a 20-percent increase in tax rates at the bottom and an increase of about 4 percent at the top of the income ladder. If existing rates were truly effective in their application to all incomes, there would be more basis for the Administration's proposal. Because of the many loopholes in the existing tax law which make it possible for a great many taxpayers in the upper income groups to pay substantially lower taxes than are called for by the statutory rates, this is not the case. All these loopholes must be closed before serious consideration is given to increasing tax rates on persons in the lower income groups.

The most glaring loophole in the present tax law is

the community income provision which permits a man to share theoretically his income with his wife and pay taxes at the lower rate which prevails for each half of the income, rather than pay as he otherwise would at a higher rate on his entire income. This provision does not benefit anyone with an income of less than \$4,800 a year. It is of increasing benefit to individuals with larger incomes all the way up the income ladder. The elimination of this loophole, which the President did not name in his tax message, could raise an additional \$1.5 to \$2 billion. The closing of other loopholes in the individual income-tax law such as preferential capital-gains treatment, depletion allowances on royalty incomes, family partnerships, tax-exempt incomes, unreported dividend receipts, etc., could be made to yield an additional \$1 to \$1.5 billion. Thus the closing of loopholes alone can be made to yield \$2.5 billion to \$3.5 billion *without raising rates at all*. If, in addition, we raise another \$1 billion to \$1.5 billion by moderate and progressive increase in the rates on incomes above \$5,000, as it is practicable to do, we shall have virtually obtained the \$4 billion recommended by President Truman without increasing taxes on individuals below the \$5,000-a-year mark at all—a far cry from the President's proposal! Only when we shoot for more than \$10 billion in total and for more than \$4 billion in personal income taxes should we consider tax increases on incomes below the \$5,000 mark. And even then we must be exceedingly wary of how far below that mark we go; to take more than an additional \$1 billion from persons below the \$5,000-a-year mark would impose real and perhaps unwarranted hardship.

The third major field of additional tax revenues is that of excise and sales taxes. The President has recommended that we raise an additional \$3 billion by selective excise taxes on "less essential consumer goods and upon goods which use materials that will be in short supply." The Treasury has recommended tax increases on automobiles, gasoline, tobacco products, alcoholic beverages, major electrical and other appliances and on some luxury goods.

During a time of national emergency and threatening inflation, the traditional arguments against excise and sales taxes lose a great deal of their force, provided essential goods and services like food, rent and non-luxury clothing are exempted from such taxes. Since a major stabilization objective is to cut down spending, it makes sense to impose taxes on spending for any non-essential items.

With general price controls in effect, which will undoubtedly distinguish in the future between low-priced lines (essentials, generally) and higher-priced lines

(non-essentials, generally), it will be administratively feasible to distinguish what items should be subjected to excise or sales taxes, and which exempted.

While the case for increased taxes on liquor, tobacco products and gasoline is relatively clear, the case with respect to goods which use materials in short supply is not. There is an important difference between the Ford automobile used by a defense worker to get to an otherwise inaccessible defense plant and the Cadillac used only for luxury transportation. There is an important difference between a home freezer used in a home of wealth to store game shot during the hunting season and the refrigerator bought by a low-income family to prevent the spoilage of perishable foods. While the taxation of articles which use materials in short supply will in many cases be merited and desirable, this will not universally be the case; nor will it be fair in all cases to ration such articles by the higher prices which excise taxes will impose. There is no easy solution to this problem short of rationing. It should be possible, however, to find at least a partial solution by distinguishing between price lines and exempting the utility items from excise taxes.

Granted the qualifications mentioned above, the ad-

ditional \$3 billion in excise taxes suggested by the President is a modest figure. With the broadened area of excise-tax coverage made possible by price-utility distinctions, it should be possible to raise almost any sum desired by such means. We should start with a \$5 or \$6 billion goal, rather than with \$3 billion.

It is possible to raise \$3 billion or more in corporate-profits taxes, depending on whether or not prices (and inventory profits) continue to rise. Individual income taxes could be made to yield \$4 billion by eliminating loopholes and by increasing the rates on incomes in excess of \$5,000 a year, and perhaps \$1 billion more could be raised by higher taxes on incomes below the \$5,000-a-year mark. Excise taxes, with proper safeguards for essential purchases, should be made to yield \$5 billion or \$6 billion at this time. In addition, estate- and gift-tax increases can be made to yield perhaps another one-half billion dollars, and a number of miscellaneous taxes (such as those on transportation, communication, etc.) can yield another one-half billion dollars or so. In this way we can come within practical range of the total approximate tax target President Truman has outlined, and with a fairly equitable proposed distribution of the tax burden.

PERSECUTION BY ASSERTION

I TAKE TIME OUT from my capitalistic activities to report on the charges of

by **Harold J. Ruttenberg**

"Communist tendencies" made against Marjorie Hanson Matson, the first woman assistant district attorney in Pittsburgh's Allegheny County. Wife of an engineer social worker, J. Warren Matson, mother of a ten-year-old daughter and niece of one of Pittsburgh's greatest social workers, the late Eleanor Hanson, Mrs. Matson is being persecuted by Charles "Call Me General" J. Margiotti, Pennsylvania attorney general and prominent criminal lawyer.

Mrs. Matson's tendencies are in three directions. She is a devoted follower of Jane Addams and a member since 1932 of the organization she founded, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Second, she is a civil libertarian, believer in civil rights, and she practises what she preaches. Of all the barristers in Allegheny County, she is the only one who has had the guts to be the local representative of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Third, she is for better race relations and has Negro

friends who, like herself and husband Warren, are anti-Communist. If

"Communitic tendencies" are to be proved by espousal of some of the same causes which Communists have supported then Mrs. Matson and Governor Dewey will be guilty of such tendencies by supporting the Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Margiotti is feuding with Mrs. Matson's boss, William S. Rahauser, the district attorney for Allegheny County. He superseded Rahauser last summer in conducting a grand jury investigation of alleged misuse of city labor by a Pittsburgh Democratic city councilman. Margiotti was appointed attorney general last summer by Gov. James F. Duff for the purpose of browbeating the Democrats with the "City Hall Work Scandal" to help elect Duff to the Senate. Duff was elected, and in return asked the new Republican governor to reappoint Margiotti, but the anti-Margiotti wing of the Republican Party didn't want him. The General apparently likes the job, and as part of his campaign to keep his post, Margiotti concocted the Matson Case.

The DEMS, in turn, outflanked the GOP's grand jury investigation of the "City Hall Work Scandal" with a spectacular sedition trial—now in progress—against

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the three top leaders of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania. This ingenious trial has been stealing the headlines from the GOP's grand jury investigation. What better idea than to pin the Communist label on a staff member of the very district attorney who is trying the sedition case! All's fair in politics. Not finding any Communists with whom to browbeat the DEMS, however, Margiotti introduced a new concept in the anti-Communist doctrine—a concept that is of national concern, because if Margiotti can make it work in Pittsburgh against Mrs. Matson then politicians can use it all over the nation, for it increases the supply of potential victims of Communist charges a millionfold.

Margiotti states his new concept boldly:

The issue is not whether Mrs. Matson is a Communist or whether she ever was a Communist. The issue is not whether she ever was a member of a Communist organization or a Communist front.

The issue is whether Mrs. Matson has Communistic sympathies and leanings as shown by her association, her acts and her utterances. . . .

When these unholy concepts are spun for public consumption by politicians to further their own immediate political fortunes, the responsible members of the community must say "STOP" or these thoughtless politicians will drag us all into the mire. This "tendency" concept, to be sure, leaves the accuser free to make his own interpretation of what constitutes "Communistic tendencies."

General Margiotti's tactics in pursuing his unholy concept are just as anti-democratic and violative of due process as his concept itself. There follows a blow-by-blow account, which a local cartoonist characterized by drawing a picture of Margiotti as a big black cat and Mrs. Matson as a sweet little bird in a cage saying: "Dat bad old putty cat."

Margiotti began his campaign to remove Mrs. Matson from her position with a letter to Rahauser which the General, with his own idea of courteous behavior, gave to the papers before it was even mailed. Making various charges of "Communistic tendencies," he demanded her dismissal because "her Communistic associations render her unfit to hold" her position as an assistant district attorney.

His charges were so obviously unsubstantiated that the local papers carefully sought Mrs. Matson's simultaneous reply and published it in an adjoining column. She knocked down his charges point by point, winding up with the announcement that she would sue him for libel, and she did. The *Pittsburgh Press* editorialized:

. . . On the face of what he has said thus far, his attack on Mrs. Matson is a shoddy smear unworthy of the attor-

ney general of Pennsylvania. . . . If he can't prove his charges against Mrs. Matson, he should retract them and issue a full apology.

The General replied that the law does not permit suit for libel against an attorney general—which immunity he, of course, could waive if he in fact enjoys it.

The district attorney, naturally, refused to dismiss Mrs. Matson on a basis of unproved accusations. She took a leave of absence to carry on the fight, and proceeded to ask the Court of Common Pleas to appoint a board of impartial lawyers to weigh the evidence. The court did so, naming to this board two former judges, two former presidents of the Bar Association and a distinguished woman attorney.

Margiotti, after trying his case in the papers for a week, refused to appear before this board. Instead, he set up star-chamber machinery of his own, appointing one of his deputies to be "judge" and another to be "prosecutor." He refused to tell Mrs. Matson the charges against her, though day after day he tried to build up prejudice against her in the community by dribbling out parts of his charges to the papers.

Mrs. Matson countered his move by getting an injunction to stop the spectacle. Judge Samuel A. Weiss of the Court of Common Pleas, who issued the restraining order, said of Margiotti's antics: "The hearing is of such an ex-parte nature as could lead to an un-American precedent in this court."

The *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* editorialized:

. . . Here was the attorney general presuming to give a public hearing to a defendant upon whom he had already passed sentence of guilt. He named one of his deputies as prosecutor and another as hearing examiner. And Mr. Margiotti was to have been the sole judge of the evidence. Under the circumstances Mrs. Matson had no recourse except to the court. And Judge Weiss ruled plausibly. . . .

So the matter rests at this writing. The restraining order is being litigated; briefs are to be filed; the case will wend its way through the halls of justice. Somewhere along the line Mrs. Matson may get a chance to present her case and receive vindication. The responsible actions of the local court, District Attorney Rahauser and the papers, in the Matson case, are a breath of fresh air in the hysteria-polluted political atmosphere of Pittsburgh.

But meanwhile Mrs. Matson has had to forego her income to defend herself against a set of false charges. When she does receive vindication, as she will from any impartial tribunal, the damage already done her career will not be fully repaired. It will linger for years. All because Margiotti needed a club to hit Rahauser over the head, and Mrs. Matson was the handiest club at hand.

HAROLD L. ICKES: *Pure Water by Impure Politics*

LAST WEEK I described in bare outline the plot to which the US Army Engineers have given their blessing and which, if it succeeds, will despoil the incomparable lake front of Chicago while wrapping the strangling tentacles of the railroads about the throat of potential water-borne commerce between the Middle West and the Atlantic seaboard. It is inconceivable that, if the people of this vast area, especially those of Chicago, knew what the *Chicago Tribune* and its former employee, Commissioner of Public Works Oscar E. Hewitt, were brewing for them, they would not rise in their wrath and storm the City Hall, as they did in the days when the late Charles T. Yerkes was demanding from bought-and-paid-for aldermen and legislators street-railway franchises in perpetuity and without compensation to the city. Then, indignant Chicago citizens even invaded the city council chamber during its deliberations and significantly dangled a rope ending in a noose from the gallery as a warning to the city fathers.

The building of the proposed filtration plant on some 61 filled-in acres of land in the heart of Chicago Harbor indisputably would seriously and adversely affect the commerce that the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway would bring to all of the cities that border on the Great Lakes and the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Therefore, it is surprising that Robert R. McCormick should be supporting the efforts of the railroads which operate between the Atlantic seaboard and the Great Lakes States to maintain their monopoly of freight and express traffic, which is made possible by the virtual cartelization that binds them together. There have been other occasions in the past when the *Chicago Tribune* has been in the forefront fighting for Chicago and its interests.

Yet it has also happened in the past that when the *Chicago Tribune* has had an opportunity to feather its nest it has not hesitated to do so. I have in mind particularly the notorious 99-year lease of school property at the southeast corner of Dearborn and Madison Streets, the former site of the *Tribune*, which the late Joseph Medill, then publisher of the paper, contrived to have approved at a secret midnight session of the board of education. As a result of this lease, the school children of Chicago have been deprived of many millions of dollars. This private profit from public property has been the cornerstone of the imposing financial edifice of the *Chicago Tribune*.

Now the *Chicago Tribune* has lined up vociferously on the side of those who would, for all future time, permit the New York and other Atlantic coast harbors

to collect toll, not only from the people of Chicago, Cleveland, Ashtabula, Milwaukee, Minneapolis and St. Louis, but from all of the other Great Lakes and river ports that would benefit, directly or indirectly, from the commercial developments that would follow the completion of the St. Lawrence Seaway. In view of the record, there may be cynics who wonder whether, when the dust has settled, the *Tribune* may not be discovered to be one of the beneficiaries of the strangulation policy that it is helping to put over. In this connection, it might be well to recall that the *Tribune*, and particularly Mr. McCormick and other members of his family, have very great financial interests in New York City, which would benefit in the degree that the threatened strangulation of the commerce of the Chicago River would take place. It also is not inappropriate to suggest that, while the *Chicago Tribune* apparently is opposed to general water transportation between the Middle West and Canada and Europe, it, itself, brings into the Chicago Harbor, in ships flying the Canadian flag, print paper produced in far-off Quebec by a wholly-owned subsidiary corporation.

Characteristically, McCormick's venomous personal organ, in advocating the strangulation of possible commerce that would naturally flow in and out of Lake Michigan as a result of the Seaway, pays little attention to the truth. In an editorial on January 31, under the title "Obstructionist Bill," the *Tribune* improperly chided Representative Randolph of its own senatorial district for introducing a bill in the state legislature "to block construction of the filtration plant north of Navy pier." Certainly those who are trying to block the construction of the filtration plant are on the side of the angels as compared with those, McCormick included, who are leaving nothing undone to obstruct the development of potentially-important commerce on the Great Lakes and the Chicago, Illinois, Mississippi and Missouri Rivers.

Criticizing these "obstructionists" of the filtration plant, Mr. McCormick's editorial said: "The Defense Department has approved it." This was an untruth at the time that it was uttered, and, so far as is known, it is not true, as this is written, that the Defense Department is on the side of the devils so far as this filtration plant is concerned. There would be no sense in that Department making it impossible, or even difficult, to bring in from Labrador the rich iron ore that has been discovered there in quantity and the coal with which to make iron for the future defense of the nation.

HAROLD L. ICKES

BOOKS IN REVIEW

TEST BORINGS IN THE BRITANNICA

by Paul Nemenyi

To live effectively is to live with adequate information. — *Norbert Wiener.*

A World Encyclopedia would be not a miscellany but a concentration, a clarification and a synthesis . . . a clearinghouse of misunderstandings. — *H. G. Wells.*

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA has a new printing at least once every year. It would take a group of a score or more of librarians, scientists, physicians and other professional men and women to review it adequately before the next printing appears. The present article, being one man's work, will merely point out disturbing shortcomings of the 1950 printing, disproving certain claims made by the Editor in his Preface and indicating the need for a more comprehensive review. This piece will also attempt to show something of the fine heritage and great potentialities of the *Britannica* and point out some simple and practical steps toward their realization.

In the course of my scientific and literary work I have consulted a variety of articles in the *Britannica*. Having found many of them inadequate, I started deliberately to sample more. Here are some of my observations.

What is the average age of material contained in this "New Survey of Universal Knowledge"? Probably not even the editors know. From a varied, though admittedly small, sample I conclude that this average can be anywhere from 15 to 30 years. Let us take the field in which the *Britannica* traditionally enjoys the greatest prestige: the physical sciences. Many of the major articles are mere reprints of the corresponding articles of the 1929 edition: among them articles on such rapidly developing subjects as "Cosmogony" (by the late James Jeans), "Viscosity" (E. Hatschek), "Surface Tension" (A. W. Porter), "X-Rays and Crystal Structure" (J. D. Bernal) and even "Aerodynamics" (Melvin Jones). The well-conceived and beautifully written article of the

late Jean Perrin on "Brownian movement" is a verbatim reprint from 1929; unfortunately, it is marred by the absence of the illustration, referred to in the text and essential for full understanding, but omitted through editorial inadvertence in the dozen or so printings since 1929. Niels Bohr's article, "Atom," seems to date from 1925; it was brought thoroughly up to date in 1929 but since then modernized only to a slight extent. Of course this article is supplemented by several other more recent ones, as for example "Quantum Mechanics" and "Nucleus" (similarly, the obsolescence of the "Cosmogony" article is partly compensated for by the much more recent one on "Nebulae"). But major articles should be self-contained units and give an up-to-date initial orientation on their subject without supplementary reading. Older than any of these is the late J. J. Thompson's treatise, "Electric Waves." Since the 1910 edition, the only major change in this paper is the inclusion of the elements of the mathematical theory on the subject; the voluminous experimental material with its illustrations remains unchanged in all essentials. There is no article on the important and rapidly developing subject of "Photoelasticity" (the optical method of experimental-stress analysis); not even in the index is there any reference either to photoelasticity or to the underlying Brewster effect; in the biographical note on Brewster I found only a vague reference to the latter. Similarly, for the *Britannica* "Shockwave" is a concept of geology only, not of physics, and Supersonic flow nonexistent.

In the field of medicine I am no judge of the quality of the articles; but anyone can judge their presence or absence, and their age. On such studies as that of the "Brain," of "Surgery" and of "Brain, surgery of," the articles are reprinted from the 1929 edition. There

is no article on penicillin, and the single Index entry to it refers to *two lines* in the article on Fungi. The compilers of the Index missed the interesting, brief account of the discovery of penicillin in the biographical note on Alexander Fleming. Incidentally, Fleming is co-author of "Antiseptics and Asepsis," reprinted unchanged since 1929, and apparently written several years before that.

In psychology, psychoanalysis, anthropology, education and related fields, as in the physical sciences, I found much material excellent in its time but now outdated. One of the important articles, the late Charles Spearman's "Abilities: General and Special," a concise, thought-provoking survey, but thoroughly obsolete today, has been reprinted without any change that I could notice from the 1929 edition. It fails to discuss either L. L. Thurstone's fundamental theoretical ideas developed in his book *The Vectors of Mind* or Stoddard and Wellman's important results concerning the environment's influence upon the general ability. About equally obsolete is Arnold Gesell's article on "Child Psychology"; this, too, was present in all its essentials in the 1929 edition, and too short even then.

The same objection applies to several articles on cultural anthropology, for example, the papers of the late Bronislaw Malinowsky on "Marriage" and of the late James Harvey Robinson on "Civilization." The tremendous amount of anthropological field work on one hand, and the integration of anthropology and psychoanalysis on the other, have so essentially changed the anthropologists' views of human culture and its relation to human nature that supplementary material is needed to outline recently discovered facts and the changing outlook. A similar addition is needed to G. S. Brett's article, "Psychology, History of," which is a reprint from the 1929 edition unchanged even in the bibliography.

The article "Co-operation," an almost unchanged reprint from 1929, is rendered obsolete not only by newer developments in the co-operative movement but particularly by anthropological investigation of co-operation in primitive societies (brilliantly represented in *Co-operation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*, edited by Margaret Mead, New York, 1937). It is only fair to mention, that animal co-operation is thoroughly treated in C. W. Allee's modern article, "Animal Sociology."

Psychoanalysis and its applications are treated mainly in the article, "Psychoanalysis, Freudian School," by Freud, and "Abnormal Psychology," by Ernest Jones, both unchanged from the 1929 edition (except that one item has been added to the bibliography of the former). These articles, the one by the founder of psychoanalysis, the other by one of his faithful associates, are excellent presentations of the strict Freudian viewpoint of the late 1920s. But however thoroughly one may agree with Jones's devastating judgment of the theories of Alfred Adler and C. G. Jung, such influential theories, even if unreliable and relatively sterile, should enjoy an additional discussion by a less hostile psychologist. Furthermore, Dr. Margaret Ribble's investigations into the influence of infant experience upon emotional development; deviations from Freud's system and methods (more constructive than those of Jung and Adler), such as those due to Homer Lane, A. S. Neill, Otto Rank, H. S. Sullivan and Erich Fromm; and numerous recent extensions and modifications of Freudian theory by such consistent supporters as Healy, Alexander, Ferenczi, Fenichel, Helen Deutsch and Anna Freud are all factors making psychoanalysis very different from what it was in 1929.

The biography of F. W. Fröbel is by the Reverend R. H. Quick (1831-1891) and was only very slightly modified by "X" (this frequently encountered symbol probably stands for editorial assistant). During the six decades which passed since the original article was written, some of the great educational thinkers, notably John Dewey and W. H. Kilpatrick, have analyzed Fröbel's work and freely acknowledged their in-

debtedness to him. This, and Miss E. R. Murray's acute analysis of Fröbel as a psychologist, amounted to a complete re-evaluation of his life work, which is insufficiently reflected in the bibliography, and not at all in the text.

In his preface, the editor says that experience shows that 75 percent of an encyclopedia needs revision only at long intervals, but that the remaining 25 percent "requires *continuous* revision, *some every year, some every two years, some every three years and so on.*" (Italics mine. - P.N.) Since we see that articles on such dynamic subjects as abnormal psychology or aerodynamics are printed without change for 21 years, we may wonder just what kinds of articles are revised every one or two years. Despite the most careful search, I was unable to find any article bearing the marks of so frequent a revision.

That articles revised regularly every one, two or three years, if they exist at all, must form an altogether negligible minority is suggested by the fact that biographies of living persons are allowed to fall out of date. For example, in the biographical note on "Robert Oppenheimer, American physicist and scientist" (sic), his appointment as director of the Institute for Advanced Study is not mentioned. Analogous omissions occur in Bertrand Russell's biography.

When estimating the up-to-dateness and the average age of the 1950 printing, we should not forget the numerous biographic notes on minor British poets, ecclesiastics, statesmen, generals and admirals of past centuries. We also find numerous articles on English and Scottish noble families. Most of this material is reprinted (or condensed) from old, sometimes very old, editions. Recent scholarship may or may not have made obsolete the *content* of these articles; but the very *presence* of some and the excessive length of others are themselves anachronistic. The space gained by eliminating this dead material could be used primarily for biographical articles on major figures of the present and recent past, surprisingly many of whom are still missing in the current printing. To mention only a few: the mathematicians, Sylvester,

Minkowsky, Volterra, Levi Civita and Hadamard; the physicists, Larmor, Sommerfeld, Schrödinger, Dirac, Fermi, Meitner, Szilard; the psychologists, Wertheimer, Koffka, Lewin; the pioneers in the treatment of juvenile delinquency and in child guidance, Homer Lane and William Healy; the prison reformer, Thomas M. Osborne; the pioneer of birth control, Margaret Sanger. In the visual arts Kollwitz, Barlach, Chagall and Rouault merit notes.

It would be also desirable to have a number of plates, each giving a cosmopolitan portrait gallery in a specific field of human endeavor such as "Poets," "Mathematicians," "Physicists," "Social and Educational Reformers," etc. I could find only one plate of this type, "Musicians," in the *Britannica*; they were an attractive feature of *Meyer's Conversations Lexicon* early in this century.

Obsolescence is the shortcoming found most frequently in *Britannica* articles, but it is not the only or the most serious one. Many articles are inadequate for reasons independent of their age. "Vision" is a patchwork of brief contributions by several authors, including "X." Thanks to recent fundamental discoveries of A. Ames Jr., R. Lüneburg and S. Hecht, the theory of vision is to all intents a new subject; the poorly written article of 1929 should be replaced completely. The brief, unsigned piece on Ernst Mach, while giving unnecessarily detailed data on his various positions, fails to convey any idea of his actual accomplishment in physics, in the history and epistemology of science, in physiology and in psychology. Above all, it does not give Mach any credit for his deep programmatic suggestions on theoretical physics of which Einstein's general theory of relativity was the fulfillment (see Philipp Frank: *Einstein, His Life and Time*, 1947).

More disturbing are those instances in which a contributor is patently unsuitable because his general record or his relation to his subject precludes unbiased, reliable work. For example: the biography of Henry Ford is an overblown, hollow eulogy. The legend of the \$5 minimum wage is recounted as if it were a fact. No mention is made of

Ford's elaborate spy organization, his interference with the rights of workers both as individuals and as citizens, the anti-Semitic libels spread under his name and with his money during seven years, his subsequent apologies; nor of his acceptance—years after the apparently sincere apologies—of a decoration from Hitler. This article was written by Samuel Crowther, co-author of Ford's autobiography, and by W. J. Cameron, supposedly a staff member of the Engineering Laboratory of the Ford Motor Company. Actually Mr. Cameron is not an engineer, but a journalist, who, as editor of Ford's *Dearborn Independent*, was the actual author of "Mr. Ford's Own Page" during Ford's campaign of defamation against the Jews. (See *Current Biography*, 1944, and Keith Sward: *The Legend of Henry Ford*, 1948).

A similar bias is found in the article on Count Bethlen, a Hungarian semi-fascist politician. The author, who credits Bethlen and Admiral Horthy with saving Hungary from extinction as a nation, is Sir William Goode. Goode, as the Bethlen regime's unofficial financial adviser, was a close associate of his subject. Slanted in the same way, although much shorter and unsigned, are articles on Horthy and on Franco ("Spanish soldier and statesman"). Apart from its slant, the former is amazingly obsolete, as it leaves untold all the relevant events of more than a quarter of a century. Horthy's record, told concisely and objectively up to 1946, can be found in the *Americana* for 1950.

Are all *Britannica* biographies written by employees, associates or admirers of the biographee? By no means. Gandhi's brief biography was written by a political opponent, Baron Merton, former secretary of the Finance Department of India during British rule. While it is written without rancor, it fails to do justice to the Mahatma's personality, political philosophy or historical accomplishment. Merton's article closes with 1930, and the editors have added only seven lines. Harry Hopkins is termed a "United States politician," and is given a most perfunctory biography. Again, a comparison with the *Americana* is rewarding.

The article "Lynch Law," which, in spite of all protests, makes its reappearance in the 1950 printing, is misleading and irresponsible. The following sentences are characteristic of the whole:

After reconstruction, with the increase of negro crimes came an increase in Lynching, due to prejudice, to the fact that after reconstruction the governments were weak, especially in the districts where the blacks outnumbered the whites, to the fact that negroes almost always shield criminals of their own race against the white, and to the occurrence of the crime of rape by negro men upon white women. (Italics mine. — P.N.)

Lynchings occur mostly during periods of idleness of the lower classes.

Thus the article virtually blames the Negroes for the occurrence of lynching. No reference is made to investigations of lynchings by civil-liberties organizations or by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, or to efforts to establish federal anti-lynch laws. The paper is unchanged from its first appearance more than two decades ago; its author is a former dean of Vanderbilt University, a Southern "white" school.

It should be mentioned at this point, that the article, "American Negro," is honestly written by expert, responsible men who are active in, or sympathetic to, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; among them Professor Alain Locke and Mr. Edwin Embree. However, the problems of discrimination and segregation, of separate and unequal educational and medical facilities, are here, as throughout the encyclopedia, treated too sketchily. In fact, in the Index there is no entry for "discrimination," and "segregation" figures only as a biological and a metallurgical concept.

The bias which mars the content and quality of a number of *Britannica* articles is discernible also in the allotment of space. To mention a few of the many comparisons made: Henry Ford's biography takes about three times as much space as that of the brothers Wright. Alexander Hamilton rates more than six times as much space as Tom Paine; Count Bethlen more than Gandhi and Nehru together; and Edmund Burke as much as Rousseau, Vol-

taire, d'Alembert, Diderot and Montesquieu combined.

In the field of art, one similar comparison may suffice: Sargent's biography is about as long as those of Cézanne, Renoir, Degas and Toulouse-Lautrec together. Similarly, in the article "Painting," the plate space given to modern American painting is more than that given to all other modern painting; among the American painters, regionalists are favored out of all proportion to their importance.

Two further remarks: While for Oriental (especially Egyptian, Indian and Chinese) art, the illustrative material in the *Britannica* is outstanding, primitive art is comparatively little represented and the available material is scattered over about a dozen different articles. Primitive art being today a distinct field of study, interesting for the artist and art lover as well as for the anthropologist and psychologist, it should be discussed in a well-integrated and illustrated article of its own.

Similarly, the art of children (not for children) should have a separate essay, presenting this fascinating and developing subject from the artistic as well as the psychological, educational and psychotherapeutic standpoint. The existing article, "Art Teaching," stresses only the educational aspect and it is obsolescent.

For sheer delight for the eyes of old and young, few encyclopedias rival the *Britannica*. As a reference book, for settling casual disputes, such as the birthplace of an Elizabethan poet, it is certainly adequate. The mature professional man or woman, however, seeking in the *Britannica* general orientation in a field outside his own, is likely to be disappointed. Worse: the young student, relying on it in his studies and particularly in the writing of term papers, may often be misled, rather than disappointed by it, as he is not yet able to distinguish fact from opinion and up-to-date from obsolete information.

To make the *Britannica* adequate for all its uses will inevitably be a long process. The Chancellor and the Faculty of the University of Chicago, who

have pioneered in so many fields of science, scholarship and education, and who bear the responsibility for the policies of the *Britannica*, have a wide scope for their creative imagination in devising means to accelerate the progress of this work. The present writer submits a few general points for an overdue change in *Britannica* policies:

1. The present policy of assigning priority for general revision to the various fields in turn is unsound. Instead, a large number of expert readers should be simultaneously at work in every field, reading all types of articles, and finding those which urgently need complete replacement, those which need to be supplemented, and finally those which need merely additional bibliographic or index entries. *Misleading or ill-conceived articles, whatever their subject and age, should have first priority for complete replacement.*

2. Each article, excepting very minor ones, should be dated, stating both the year it was written and when it was revised. This very simple device—unconventional in encyclopedia writing but accepted as a matter of course in scientific periodicals—would eliminate some of the detrimental effects of unavoidable obsolescence.

One can well understand the reluctance of an editor to touch articles by Jeans, Freud, Spearman and Malinowsky. These men, who were almost as great masters of expository writing as they were of original research, are dead; revision by any other person would almost inevitably destroy something of the articles' unity, and complete replacement seems a questionable step, since few living authors could match the quality of the old masters' writing.

The dating of the original article would give it new usefulness. The next step would be the addition of a supplementary article, not by "X," but by a competent modern authority. In many cases, the addition of more than one article is desirable, so that the approach of the original article can be followed up to its most recent consequences and other approaches can find adequate presentation.

3. In many cases the reader will benefit if he knows the particular school

of thought to which the author belongs, or the particular set of experiences upon which his article is based. Therefore he should know the name and position of the author of each major article. To obviate the inconvenience of turning to the list of contributors, it would be preferable for all major articles to be so signed.

With such a set of changes in policy, the "method of continuous revision" can become a functioning reality. Then the *Britannica*, with its fine intellectual and artistic heritage, may steadily progress toward those aims which that imaginative yet pragmatic thinker, H. G. Wells, has set for a World Encyclopedia.

Paul Nemenyi, a native of Hungary, was graduated from the Institute of Technology in Berlin, and was admitted as a lecturer at the same Institute in 1931. He left Germany in 1933, and lectured and did research in Fluid Dynamics, and taught Mathematics at various universities in Denmark, England and this country. He has published two books and numerous articles.

INSIGHT & INDEPENDENCE

CLASSICS AND COMMERCIALS, by Edmund Wilson (Farrar, Straus; \$5).

EDMUND WILSON recently published a satire, "The Mass in the Parking Lot," about the religious interests of writers like Eliot and Huxley and "that gentleman-caterer Somerset Maugham" ("a half-trashy novelist, who writes badly, but is patronized by half-serious readers, who do not care much about writing," as he puts it in *Classics and Commercials*).

The scene was a desolate parking lot . . .
And the air was bad and the day was dark.

And most were agreed they must hold
a mass

To bring some poignant epiphka to
pass. . . .

This satire Wilson has just reprinted in a little pamphlet called "Three Reliques of Ancient Western Poetry Collected by Edmund Wilson from the Ruins of the Twentieth Century"—and sent to some of his friends inscribed "Happy New Year from EW."

Most of Wilson's defining characteristics are, I think, in this little incident. There is his insistent common sense, with its irritable, perhaps even slightly

puzzled, dislike of amorphous feelings and second-rate mysteries (but he takes a rational delight in the magician's craft); there is his concern for our culture as a whole, firmly rooted in his fine historical imagination, which can make us relive the past and understand its quality; there is his despair about that culture, its terrifying completeness occasionally driven home to us by the self-possession of his very grim jokes: "[The success of *The Robe*] demonstrates that the ordinary reader, even in our ghastly time, does long for moral light, that he cannot live by bilge alone"; there is the genuine passion of his commitment to trained intelligence and disciplined feelings; finally there is his vocation, his membership in "a kind of professional group, now becoming extinct and a legend, in which the practice of letters was a common craft and the belief in its value a common motivation."

The sixty-six essays of *Classics and Commercials* give the reader the whole range of Wilson's mind, though not, because of their shortness, its whole depth. They give evidence of his insight and incisive judgment. Van Wyck Brooks is "a master . . . of the social interpretation of literature inside the national frame"; Wilson is "haunted since I read [Kay Boyle's *Avalanche*] by a vision of *Saturday Evening Post* illustrations, in which ideal physical types of the skin-lotion and shaving-soap ads are seen posing on snowy slopes"; and with almost Johnsonian firmness he observes in an essay entitled "What Became of Louis Bromfield?": "In the days of *The Green Bay Tree* . . . Mr. Louis Bromfield used to be spoken of as one of the younger writers of promise. . . . Since then, by unremitting industry and a kind of stubborn integrity that seems to make it impossible for him to turn out rubbish without thoroughly believing in it, he has gradually made his way into the fourth rank, where his place is now secure."

Here too is the independence which keeps Wilson forever on the lookout for unfashionable or unknown writers (and curiously unsympathetic to other people's finds, like Kafka). Some of these ugly ducklings, Ronald Fir-

bank for one, are just ugly; but some of them—the Max Eastman of 1941 and the Gene Fowler of the Barrymore biography and the later Paul Rosenfeld—turn out to be what Wilson says they are, and we owe him a debt of gratitude for making us see them so. Like the Doctor Johnson who would “as lief pray with Kit Smart as anyone else,” Wilson has a gift for sympathizing with such people in exactly the right way.

Similar insight and independence lie behind the most amusing vein in *Classics and Commercials*, the attack on detective stories (“Who Cares Who Killed Roger Ackroyd?”) and the interest in tales of horror. The lax mental habits of detective-story addicts are grossly offensive to Wilson’s eighteenth-century sense of rational decency, and only his wit keeps his attack on them from being school-masterish. But toward tales of horror he has the same attitude the eighteenth-century reader took toward *The Castle of Otranto* and *The Mysteries of Udolpho*.

Wilson’s virtues as a critic—and they are very great, for he is the best we have—are founded on a belief in the cultivation and control of real feeling by reason; to this end he has devoted a lifetime because of his rationalist’s conviction of the importance to society of those “who make it their business to keep clear of the standards of the world and to stick by certain instincts of thinking and feeling whose value is not measured by their wages, and which it is always to the immediate interest of some group to mutilate, imprison or suppress.” This is a conviction which puts him in the great tradition of Bagehot and Leslie Stephen. It sometimes makes him surprisingly violent about Hollywood, Henry Luce, professional scholars and new critics (just as Stephen was violent about the *London Times*); it also makes him surprisingly gentle with writers like Cyril Connolly who he imagines have his integrity. But this is a small price for us to have to pay for his extraordinary insight and his lonely and valiant independence.

ARTHUR MIZENER

Arthur Mizener is the author of “The Far Side of Paradise,” a biography of F. Scott Fitzgerald recently published by Houghton Mifflin. He is chairman of the English Department, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota.

WITHIN OUR MEANS

THE PURSUIT OF PLENTY, by A. G. Mezerik (Harper; \$2.50).

WHILE THE ABUSE of our natural resources has been the despair of many a commentator, the only remedy most of them have suggested is either a restriction on their use or a limitation in population. Both methods are rejected by A. G. Mezerik, who in this stimulating and well-written book sets forth in broad, clear strokes the only sensible approach to resource utilization—an integrated, planned program of development.

Mezerik observes that the last fifty years have witnessed not only wars between men and men, but also a perpetual war between men and nature. We are now literally destroying our environment. We permit soil accumulated through eons to take flight in dust storms; we allow chemicals to pollute our drinking supplies; we waste our underground water.

The dreary solution offered by Parson Malthus, that we let wars and famines remove excess population, is certainly not acceptable. Quoting the Australian statistician Colin Clark, Mezerik says that while population grows about one percent a year, our ability to feed ourselves grows about one and one half percent a year. The elimination of poverty then depends on new ways of employing our natural heritage.

The new ways celebrated by the author are typified by the great experience of the Tennessee Valley Authority. While much has been written about the TVA and its multiple-purpose functioning, what Mezerik adds to the story is worth reading. He reviews briefly the re-

peated attacks made on the TVA idea by vested concerns and shows how urgent are similar regional projects for the Columbia River Valley, the Missouri Valley and the Central in California.

But, unfortunately, other government agencies offer private interests and their political henchmen attractive substitutes. Mezerik describes the lamentable efforts of the Army Engineer Corps to control the Missouri’s roaring waters with outmoded dykes and the Reclamation Bureau’s meaningless plan to impound waters in huge lakes without regard to a co-ordinated flood-control program. As the author says, nature cannot be kept in a strait jacket for long.

This is a good book. In many ways what Mezerik speaks of is fundamental to the modern body politic: it is democratic planning in the best sense of the word.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

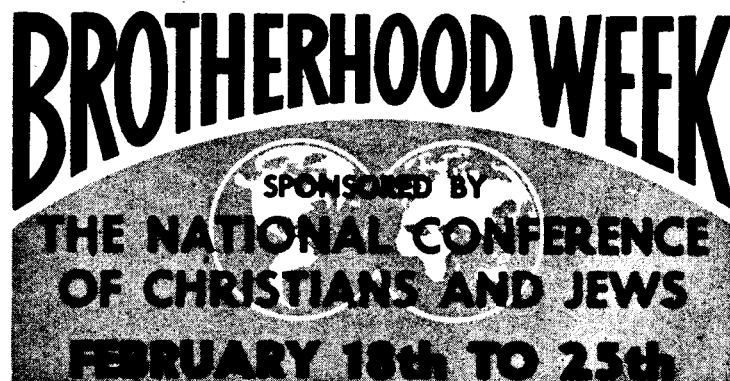
Ben. B. Seligman, economist and statistician, was formerly on the faculty of Brooklyn College. He is currently engaged in population research.

BRIEF COMMENT

New Italian Writers. Edited by Marguerite Caetani (New Directions; \$3.50).

Despite the title, this book is actually an anthology of poems and stories from one Roman literary review: *Botteghe Oscure*. And why “new,” since most of the writers have been publishing for ten or fifteen years, or more? Further, the volume is a flimsy job of bookmaking and typographical errors are frequent.

It remains that the prose (there is little to be said about short poems in translation) is skillful and pleasing in a convention that seems, in their fiction and films, characteristic of the Italians. They are for the most part stories of poverty, of a



marginal life in which the conspicuous achievement is survival, but it is remarkable how much can be contained in this apparently restricted range. The themes are generally pathetic or somber, or even tragic—love, the loss of love, and resignation—but what survives is a vitality, with always "some mysterious charm in life."

These stories are generally written with a sympathetic intelligence and a gusto that give dimensions and stature to simple and rather limited people and make them adequate subjects for a not inconsiderable art. An art, one might add, in which restraint is required to refuse the blatant invitation to sentimentality. J.F.

THEATRE: Tennessee Williams' *Rose*

I HAVE too much respect for Tennessee Williams' talent to limit myself to an assurance that I have enjoyed his most recent play, "The Rose Tattoo," more than any other I have seen this season. I am concerned with "The Rose Tattoo" as a step in the development of a playwright who is one of the few artists now writing for our theatre.

Williams' basic theme derives from a deep conflict within himself in relation to our society. The fact that his plays evolve from such a personal source is one of the strengths and main values of his work. Williams feels the weight of our harsh environment on people (with whom he identifies himself) of a sensibility too fragile to sustain the burden. This is not an uncommon theme. What makes it special in Williams' case has been his uncertainty as to the attitude he himself should take.

The heroine of "A Streetcar Named Desire" could be regarded either as a victim of a rapaciously aggressive insensitivity or as a kind of befuddled or decadent romantic whose "fine feelings" are little more than an excuse for weakness. Her roughneck antagonist could be viewed either as a thug or as an evolving brute from whose simple energies a fresh vigor may one day be released to replace the dubious benefits of the lady's sickly refinement.

Again, in "Summer and Smoke," one was hardly able to tell whether the girl was a normally responsive being caught between the arid religious and cultural tradition of a provincial Protestantism and the onslaught of the roaring licentiousness of an exasperated rebel against this tradition, or whether the man, an inverted Puritan, was being presented as an example of healthy virility.

Stimulated by his contact with the Italian people, Williams has attempted in "The Rose Tattoo" to solve a certain aspect of his inner problem by writing about a group of characters who are less burdened with the subjective ambivalence and the tormented Puritanism of his more purely American characters. Williams has tried here to free himself of some of the tensions he suffers at home by writing objectively, so to speak, of strangers. Through the Sicilians in the environs of New Orleans, Williams has undertaken to write a hymn of praise to the unfettered sexual instinct.

His central character is a woman who is passionate and pure, spiritually powerful through her animal innocence, devout in her religion because it is psychologically associated with her sense of glory in being, superstitious because of her profound connection with the most intimate mysteries of life, violent through goodness and fierce with a chastity that is often the concomitant of great sexual force. This woman—Serafina Delle Rose—is a rich and lyric portrait of an Italian peasant, but she is also an embodiment of a credo, the affirmation of sex as the root feeling of a complete existence.

Just as the woman is an individual as well as an idea, the play is a picture as much as a poem. But picture and poem are imperfectly joined, so that there are moments when one believes that the play's milieu is a pure fiction, that Williams has merely spirited his Sicilians from their native soil and arbitrarily grafted them onto the Louisiana limb. For they often speak a language that is not truly of any milieu, but a peculiar and occasionally artificial com-

posite of something born mostly of the author's dream and desire. Passages of genuine delicacy, tenderness, humor and observation alternate with unpleasantly rough spots that might exemplify anything from synthetic symbolism to crude local color that at moments skirts the fringe of vaudeville. The long love scene in the second act is touchingly virginal and true (the objective material and the author's sensibility are here happily wed), while the equivalent scene between Serafina's virgin daughter and her sailor sweetheart is entirely false.

The gusto and sincerity of the production are admirable. However, due to causes that at first sight are not easy to determine, the genre or "funny people" aspect of the play has been emphasized to the detriment of any more significant impression. The fact that our audiences are as a rule unable to take seriously emotional, semi-familiar characters like gesticulating Italian workers may have influenced the production adversely—adversely from the standpoint of expression; fortunately from the standpoint of commerce. In any case, while most of the director's (Daniel Mann's) detail is lively and effective, some of the poetic line and almost all of the tragic stature inherent in the play's fundamental conception are lost. The characters are presented affectionately, but, on the whole, greater stress is placed on their spice and quaintness than on their place in Williams' vision.

The youthfulness of most of the players may account too for some of the production's quality in which charm rather than depth or power is predominant. I must nevertheless call special attention to Maureen Stapleton, an actress of extraordinary natural talent and so much purity of feeling that one is moved by her as a person even more than by her Serafina—although, I hasten to add, I can think of no other American actress who could bring so much to the role. Eli Wallach is altogether winning as Serafina's new-found lover. A thoroughly mature contribution to the production is that of Boris Aronson, whose setting is a deft visualization of the rank earth, the penetration of industry and the influence of the Latin eye for gay decoration. HAROLD CLURMAN

ON THE AIR: All the World's a Joke

THE TELEVISION NETWORKS are bringing us more laughter. Three highly literate, extremely competent humorists are now on the air with their own shows. Henry Morgan holds forth on NBC-TV, Fridays at nine. He conducts a "talent" hunt—showing us a lady who has a bird that can sing, only it doesn't; a man who plays castanets by moving the muscles of his biceps, and other such curios. They're not funny, but Morgan is. Saturday nights, at seven, you have a choice between Sam Levenson on CBS-TV and Victor Borge on NBC-TV. If fun's what you're after, you can't go wrong with either of these gentlemen. Levenson comes closer than anyone I know to making wonderful, inoffensive humor out of what we used to call "Jewish comedy" in the days of vaudeville and burlesque—and he does not wear a putty nose. Borge, an accomplished pianist, is a musical satirist of the first order.

I wonder, however, whether the networks suppose their audiences will thrive on a diet of unremitting comedy. Levenson—reverting for a moment last Saturday to his former profession of school teacher—advised his kiddie listeners to read a book once in a while. Very sound.

A more elaborate and less intelligent brand of comedy is to be found in "Broadway Open House," Monday through Friday, from eleven to midnight on NBC-TV. It is a master of ceremonies-musical-stooge show, with Ben Blue in charge on Mondays and Wednesdays and Jerry Lester on the other three nights. I am familiar with the routines of both these men. They can "send" any night-club audience with their nonsense. They are competent at the job they have elected to do, but it is blatantly not worth doing.

Let me describe briefly what I saw the other night. There was some business between Blue and a doctor who,

instead of giving him a vitamin capsule, dished up first a handful of ice cubes, then a Mexican jumping bean, which, of course, made Blue leap up and down—and he's a good dancer. A girl sang, another danced, competently if with little distinction. Then a fire bell rang. It was the end of the first quarter-hour. Blue and various members of the cast quickly changed into costumes featuring fire helmets and launched the following Rube Goldberg tabloid: one man swings a paddle, the paddled one bashes the third party with a bag, causing the latter to squirt seltzer into the face of the last man on the rung, who blows a whistle. Comes the commercial. Later, before each of the three or four commercials, the routine was repeated. The studio audience, milked by the large cast and the five-man orchestra, roared.

Then there was a lady named Cyri, a blonde. Lester, when he's on, has a girl named Dagmar, who is also a blonde. But Dagmar is only six feet tall; Cyri is six foot three.

The survey of New York television made a few weeks ago on behalf of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters and the Joint Committee on Educational Television showed that 14 percent of all programming on New York's seven stations is given over to variety. I was surprised that the figure was so low. It had seemed to me that the belly-laugh was television's chief commodity, but figures must be treated with respect. The network people can now call me a sourpuss and point out that the same statistical tables show them giving 25 percent of their time to "drama." So challenged, I must retreat—but not before playing my last bit of statistics. Of the 25 percent of TV time devoted to "drama," 57 hours, or 10 percent, were allocated to crime stories. Western films, also listed under the "drama" category, occupied 45 percent, or eight percent of total time on the air. SAUL CARSON

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Appeasing the Nazis

What lies behind the extraordinary reduction of sentence for many Nazi war criminals? Are we trying to appease the Nazis, and if so, why, and will it work? For the answers, see the important article by Joseph Kaufman, member of the New York Bar, who was deputy chief counsel at Nuremberg and chief prosecutor in the Krupp case.

What Price Liberalism Today?

Does the liberal still have a place in the world of today, and if so, what is it? What is his role in American politics now, and specifically in the coming Presidential election of '52? These questions will be discussed in a thoughtful article timed to the Cleveland convention of Americans for Democratic Action. The author is Gus Tyler, political director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and contributing editor of the NR.

How Will the Colleges Survive?

Present plans for universal military service and training are affecting the colleges profoundly. Many male students have dropped out of college to enlist in the service of their choice, in anticipation of being drafted; many others will soon, in all probability, have their college work postponed two years or more because of serving in the armed forces. What prospect do the colleges face? How can they survive? These problems are discussed in a thoughtful article by Dr. Seymour Harris of Harvard.

What Price German Democracy?

For years, we have been trying to democratize the Germans, along with our efforts at demilitarization, denazification and decartelization. How are we getting along with these efforts? What are our most serious mistakes to date? The whole situation is summed up, on the basis of a recent visit to Germany, by Roger Baldwin, former executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, now chairman of its national committee, who has served as consultant to the occupation officers in Japan, Korea, Austria and Germany.

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